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AUTHOR Rodgers, Frederick A.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This is a report from a conference of selected black educators, professionals, and citizens that was convened to provide an outline of the kinds of educational concerns and problems affecting blacks in America which the National Institute of Education (NIE) might use as a basis for formulating its research and development (R&D) efforts. The participants generally felt that the educational R&D efforts of NIE in the black community are more properly focused on participation in policy formation, design of programs, selection of researchers, identification of relevant problems, selection of methodologies employed to conduct research, administration and approval of research projects, and legitimization of R&D efforts in black communities. Other problems and concerns rated high by participants were directed toward the control and governance of schools, the administration of schools for fostering community development, the impact of integration on schooling and the black community, the location and training of black researchers, the transition problems facing black students in schools, the communication patterns influencing the development of the black community, and the creation of internship and apprentice opportunities. (Author/JA)

JUN 1 3 1974

IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS REGARDING EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES INVOLVING BLACK CITIZENS

A FINAL REPORT

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A Conference of Black Educators, Professionals, and Lay Citizens

January 10-12, 1973
O'Hare Inn
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Frederick A. Rodgers, Chairperson
Associate Professor
Elementary Education
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801

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Dedication

This report is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Marcus Foster who was slain while serving as Superintendent of Oakland, California Public School System. His devotion to his [redacted] and beliefs his work should serve as a guide for professional educators who strive to bring a quality educational experience to all of America's children.

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Preface

During the fall of 1971, I worked with a group of colleagues in the College of Education at the University of Illinois to complete a Program Design Document Project for the National Institute of Education. Our charge was to look at inequality in the delivery of educational services to various groups across the United States. In order to gain a realistic view of the concerns and problems of those most affected by inequality on the surface, we interviewed members of various minority groups and women confronted with different environmental conditions across America. We were particularly impressed by the fact that different groups contacted were talking about the same problems but from the different perspectives gained from their unique positions in our society. It was evident that any attempt on the part of any government agency to serve the general population would have to take into consideration the fact that different groups perceive reality in accord with their personal experiences and involvements. The question of problem identification must now be broadened to take into account "who" identifies the problems. It was this kind of thinking that prompted the proposal to conduct a problem identification conference with a sample of representatives of the black community.

Representatives of the black community asked to serve as participants in a problem identification conference sponsored by NIE were carefully selected to reflect a reasonable cross-section of the views and problems associated with the delivery of educational services in the black community. There was an attempt to get a diversity of views by conscientiously choosing people who would see similar problems differently because of who they are and what they do. We do not claim that the views reflected in this report capture the full range of problems and concerns that would be expressed by all members of the black community in the United States. Therefore the information presented should be considered as a reasonable starting point for initiating programmatic action with the full knowledge that changes in program will be required as new and relevant data become available from members of the black community not properly represented here. In every endeavor the rights and the dignity of the black community must be respected if NIE is to play a legitimate role in this black community.

It is critical to the continued effectiveness of our deliberations that this report be viewed as being suggestive of both a structure for obtaining continued input from a reasonable cross-section of the black community and an initial guide for identifying R and D problem areas that

blacks certify to be important to their welfare and continued progress. The writer is mindful of the political problem of being able to move in a unified way to try to influence an agency to operate in terms of the special perspectives of those to be served while trying to get people to accept and to commit themselves to what is in this report. This approach is fraught with danger because people tend to believe what their own personal experiences reveal as truth. If this report is considered in the light of cautions implied by our foregoing statements, then it might better serve as a guide for the R and D efforts of NIE in the black community.

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Introduction

The National Institute of Education was established to help the country carry out its commitment to provide quality education for all its citizens at a reasonable cost. Public law 92-318, enacted in June, 1972, articulated the belief that the Federal Government has a clear responsibility to provide leadership in the conduct and support of scientific inquiry into the educational process. Part of the responsibility of NIE involves the building of an effective educational research and development system to help identify and alleviate current problems in American education. Four R and D analyses were conducted for NIE in 1972, and the general goals and problem analysis which resulted served as the rationale for the Institute's 1973 research and development agenda. Although the program ideas suggested by these groups were only very generally developed in the documents, nevertheless it is possible to outline three main categories into which the program suggestions fall: (1) activities that produced or collected information and disseminated the results of the analyses, (2) activities designed largely to improve the practices in the current educational system, (3) programs addressing major problems which would result in new forms of education that do not necessarily depend on the current system to operate. Under these categories, several specific areas could be identified, and of these most relevant for this investigation is the area of Analysis and Basic Research. As the NIE document states the importance of Analysis and Basic Research is that it "expand[s] our usable knowledge about education and synthesize[s] it for efficient presentation to decision-makers." Within this category, the first program, Needs Assessment, gives NIE information about public desires and reactions to educational improvement. Needs Assessment involves surveying public attitudes to find out what each of the large constituencies of education believe is important and what kinds of programs they prefer. In addition, a systematic collection of data on educational performance in broad problem areas is necessary to provide a picture of emerging and receding problem areas and information on whether NIE programs are responsive to the needs of all concerned.

In order to achieve its purpose, NIE must first identify the goals of American education, but this in itself is a difficult task for several reasons. First, within a pluralistic society it is nearly impossible to establish a set of goals with which everyone will agree and, consequently, the specific needs of some minority groups have been overlooked in the attempt to outline broad goals which fit the needs of the public in general. To counter this tendency it is necessary to obtain a valid cross-section of views and concerns of the different groups which comprise the total popution of the United States. NIE's mission can only be accomplished when proposed solutions are highly correlated with the real and perceived concerns, problems and desires of those to be served. Second, in studying the

country's educational problems, the researcher and the nature of his approach are becoming increasingly critical since the interaction of the problem, the researcher and the researcher's methodology serves to shape conclusions which often distort reality* rather than illuminate it.

One way of eliminating this kind of distortion is to have the people affected help identify the problems, do the research, develop different types of methodology to be used in conjunction with existing procedures, and draw conclusions based on the resulting perceptions. For too long the perceptions of those affected by certain decisions have not been included in the problem identification or planning stages and, therefore, have had no influence in the resulting programs to guide them in a direction consistent with the needs of the people to be served. NIE has been in existence for a number of months, and plans have been made which would be difficult to reverse, yet until this point there has been no substantive input from blacks themselves. It is crucial that accurate soundings are solicited from members of groups which for their own reasons see themselves as being distinct and requiring unique and creative solutions to their educational problems. Since most blacks in America perceive their educational problems and concerns partly in relation to social results growing out of racial classification, it is necessary to obtain a representative sampling of *how they view problems* and *how they would provide solutions for them* using NIE as the agent for change.

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* This point is made in a more systematic and thorough fashion by T. S. Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* and Imre Lakatos in "Falsification and Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes" when they argue that there are no conclusive experiments in science (and more so the case in social science) and that at least in terms of large conflicting scientific paradigms, the choice of one over the other often depend on extra-scientific considerations. With Lakatos, who is clearer on this issue than Kuhn, it depends upon the promise of the research program as measured over a long period of time. Following this line of thought, I am suggesting that the past and present program of R and D involving blacks in America has failed to yield results that help to explain how blacks perceive their involvement in the variety of daily social functions affecting them. In addition, findings of R and D efforts appear to fail to contribute directly to an outsider's understanding of the reality and strengths characterizing black social activity. If we continue to follow the vein of Kuhn's thinking, it should be noted that scientific paradigms are not all that sensitive to new information. There seem to be forces, like the selective-exposure tendency, that affect greatly thoughts and attitudes researchers have about the nature of method and information acceptable in certain areas of discourse. This continues to be the barrier to the emergence of new ideas.

Program and Structure of the Conference

In order to obtain this black perspective on educational concerns, problems and desires as background for NIE program planning and design, a conference of selected black educators, professionals and citizens was convened to provide the problem-oriented information that is valid for the group they represent. The intent of the conference was to provide an outline of the kinds of educational concerns and problems affecting blacks in America which NIE might use as a basis for formulating its Research and Development efforts. An attempt was made to focus on problem identification in a broad context so that definitions and programs might have the flexibility to make use of approaches and systems not yet identified or tried on a large scale. Attention was focused on dealing with the operational social, political, and economic consequences of Research and Development as a tool or process in the black community. Some attention was also devoted to problems, fears, and misgivings associated with R and D in the black community and how to get communities to accept the worth of these efforts as an aid to improving the quality of education they receive.

In addition to the content of the educational concerns and problems, it was hoped that data could be collected on the process of group interaction when individuals interact in relation to the tasks as outlined. From these data, some insight into problems as they relate to the personalities and experiential backgrounds of the participants was gained. These data should help the NIE staff to plan for the introduction of R and D Proposals to black communities without the confrontation that results when people and personalities are not adequately considered.

In order to facilitate the discussion of problems crucial to the R and D efforts directed at the black community, a preconference concept paper was prepared by the conference Chairperson, Frederick A. Rodgers, and circulated to all participants in advance of the conference. Each area of concern was briefly discussed so that the reader had some notion of the intent. These topical areas were viewed as an attempt to structure R and D problems related to blacks in the broadest possible terms across many sources of problems. They were not to be viewed as an attempt to be exhaustive but rather as an attempt to be suggestive of the pattern that might be employed to consider R and D problems. Each participant was asked to read the paper prior to coming to Chicago and to react in writing or orally to any item in accordance with his personal involvement, knowledge, and experience.

Participants were also strongly encouraged to prepare their own lists of priority topics accompanied by supportive comments. In conclusion, the topical areas along with supportive comments represented a "first cut" in an attempt to deal with complex R and D issues involving blacks in American society.

Since the participants themselves were selected not along disciplinary lines but were chosen rather to reflect the general problems of R and D across blacks as a group, the problems which are outlined in the report do not fit neatly within traditional disciplinary frameworks. After the points raised by participants were thoroughly discussed, problem areas were rewritten to reflect the concerns and additional input of all concerned. The prepared paper was considered by the entire group on the second day of the conference.

The meeting was held in Chicago on January 11 and 12 at the O'Hare Inn. On the evening of January 10, the participants met at a social hour to establish rapport and to informally get acquainted with each other in terms of the assigned tasks. The first part of January 11 was spent orienting the group to the task expectation, formal introductions, and identifying concerns and problems. The second part of January 11 was spent defining what the concerns and problems might mean in relation to the stated purposes of NIE.

On the evening of January 11, the participants continued their interaction on an informal basis at a social hour, designed to facilitate discussion involving the assigned task of the conference. The program on January 12 continued the discussion initiated on the previous day with much more focus on specific ideas and logistical requirements for further discussing and product delivery. Much of the discussion centered on how the report should be presented and the specific problem areas requiring attention. The group then focused on the pre-conference problems paper prepared for consideration by conference participants. The latter part of the day was spent reconciling differences, clarifying problems, suggesting program steps and procedures, identifying possible resource people, outlining an appropriate communication pattern and specifying the details of the written report to be submitted.

The Participants

The selection criteria included considerations of geographic diversity, sex, diversity of expertise, interest, age, and rank. The list of participants attending the conference and their respective primary activity is indicated below.

PARTICIPANTS	PRIMARY ACTIVITY
Ms. Jacqueline Alford	Graduate Student; Research Problems in Black Communities
Dr. Edward Barnes	Professor of Psychology Evaluation
Dr. Herman Branson	President, Lincoln University Higher Education in the Black Community
Mrs. Hattie M. Ellis, Jr.	High School Guidance Counselor in newly integrated school in N. C.
Mr. Roosevelt Ellis	Elementary School Teacher; Learning Problems of Poor Students
Dr. Marcus Foster	Superintendent, K-12 District School System Administration
Mr. Kenneth Haskins	Community Involvement in Education
Dr. Robert Hoover	Chairman of School Board; School System Governance
Dr. Clyde O. McDaniel	Co-Director of Research Center Research Design/Group Process
Dr. Malvin E. Moore, Jr.	Professor of Higher Education Leadership Training for Developing Institutions
Dr. Chester Pierce	Professor of Psychiatry and Education/ Life in Extreme Environments

Dr. Frederick A. Rodgers	Associate Professor of Elementary Education; Bias in Research Methodology and the Production of Black Scholars
Mrs. Helen Testamark	United Black Associations; Parent Involvement in Education
Dr. Arthur Thomas	Director, Center for Student Rights; Adolescents/Student Rights
Mr. Marvin Trammel	Principal, High School; Administration in Urban Settings

The Report

The report itself is limited by time so that the problems do not represent as detailed and careful an analysis of Research and Development involving blacks in America as might have resulted from a more deliberate effort. While the report is reflective of the nature of the problems inherent in research and development, the description may change with a detailed examination of the problems by blacks competent in each area.

In general, there is agreement that Research and Development as it relates to dealing with problems among blacks is primarily involved with value dilemmas. In the area of problem identification or needs assessment, for example, NIE receives information on public desires and reactions to educational improvement. The relevant questions here are "who is doing the asking? " and "who is being asked? " In regard to the problems of blacks, the traditional approach has been one in which individuals with scholarly reputations assess the problems and collect the data in such a manner that the method, in fact, determines what needs can be assessed. The people who are being researched, however, have their own ideas about what their problems are, and are not particularly interested in maintaining the "structure" of scholarship that so often certifies the status quo. This situation has gotten so out of hand with regard to blacks that at this point they view any attempt to define their problems from the outside as an action which is not in their best interest.

For the most part, problems and concerns outlined by the participants fall into two distinct categories. In the first instance there is concern about the researcher and the methodology employed. The second instance deals with the identification of problems relevant to blacks in educational and related settings.

Categories and Problem Areas

The Researcher and Methodology Employed	R and D Problems in Black Communities
1. Objectivity and Theory Dependency of Facts in Establishing Criteria	1. The Impact of Integration on the Black Community and Schooling in the South and Other Areas
2. Interactions Involving the Researcher, the Problem, the Methodology, the Analysis, and the Conclusion	2. Schools as Socializing Environmental Settings
3. Research *and* Development vs. Research *on* Development	3. Personality Development of Black Youth in Schools and Other Educational Settings During a Period of Transition
4. Policy Formation, Problem Identification, Program Design, and the Evaluation of Process and Product of Institutional Output	4. Assessment and Identification of Talented Black Students
5. Appropriateness of Research Problems for Black Researchers	5. The Rights of Black Students in School Settings
6. Legitimization of Research and Development in Black Communities	6. Current Research and Development Efforts Focused on the Black Community
7. Structure for Continued and Significant Black Input in the NIE R and D Effort	7. Location and Development of Black Researchers

The Researcher and Methodology Employed

1. *Objectivity and Theory Dependency of Facts in Establishing Criteria*

There is a difference in the way different researchers interpret and treat data. It is possible for some researchers with different socialization experiences, personal involvements, self-interests, and cross-group contacts to see selected data differences as being of great consequence while others view them as being trivial. Part of the issue is focused on subjective judgments about the importance of magnitude differences observed in data collected on different individuals facing diverse sets of life circumstances. However, one of the most serious discrepancies between interpretations offered by different researchers appears to be due to differences in the collection or noncollection of data and the ways in which these data are interpreted. What data are omitted and included can change the configuration of the relationships which will affect a researcher's interpretations and conclusions.

Often, unobtrusive occurrences operating systematically to affect the life conditions and chances of one group may be completely overlooked by a researcher with little "common sense" knowledge of the human activity he attempts to observe. This problem can be further aggravated by the shape of the data available. Too often available data are aggregated across larger units to the extent that conditions affecting subgroups are either masked or understated. Generalizing from aggregated data to a disaggregated population is always fraught with the danger of creating an idealized social model that is substituted for real society. These factors along with others combine to demonstrate "the fragility of social-science research in complex areas where theories are mere speculations and the techniques of analysis are subject to wide differences in application, usage and interpretation" (Levin, 1972, p. 51). Many judgments and opinions influence the application of methodology at each level, therefore, findings, interpretations and conclusions "are at least as much a product of the value perspectives and opinions of the researcher as they are of . . . (his) methodology and data. Unfortunately, the values and biases of the researcher are built into his procedures and interpretations at every stage" (Levin, 1972, p. 51).

It is clear that knowledge of the overall value perspectives of the researcher is a requisite to being able to ascertain why he chose to interpret data in a particular way when many alternative possibilities are plainly feasible. Given this state of affairs, arguments supporting the objectivity of social science data appear to be unfounded and

misleading to policy-makers.* In social science, objectivity and resulting facts are often questionable.

Another way of visualizing the problem of determining the facts in a particular case is in relation to the theory-dependency notion. Simply stated, the theory-dependency notion suggests that observations of experience (facts) are theory dependent. In this sense, two researchers may observe the same object or human behaviors and due to the different theoretical perspectives, it is possible that they literally do not see the same object or human behaviors. The conclusion to be drawn roughly parallels the comment of Hugh G. Petrie when he asserted that "What is relevant for one theory may be logically and methodologically incapable of being observed under the presuppositions of a different theory" (Petrie, 1972, p. 48).

Since the achievement of complete objectivity in social science research is probably unattainable and facts are at best theory dependent, the establishment of criteria for collecting, analyzing, evaluating and using data concerned with the life conditions of blacks in America is a difficult and value-laden task. It is crucial that research and development on educational problems of blacks be subjected to careful analysis and evaluation in relation to the objectivity and theory dependency of facts in establishing criteria governing the conduct of such activity. This kind of careful analysis should be directed toward studies that have been completed, are in progress, or are being proposed.

2. *Interactions Involving the Researcher, the Problem, the Methodology, the Analysis, and the Conclusion*

Any effort to conduct R and D projects involving black researchers and subjects should take into account relevant interactions among the researcher, the problem, the methodology, the analysis, and the conclusions of scholarly activity. In some instances, this would require the commission of studies that deal specifically with those interactions, while in other

* One of my colleagues quite rightly observed that "the critical problem in social science research is that the application of apparent findings is often incompatible with those results or has an unintended effect; to wit, research on atoms could have led to widespread desalinization plants instead of nuclear weapons, but the latter choice reflected the applied decisions of politicians not the scientists." Even though I concede one point, I feel that the research findings involving blacks to date are not in a form that offers real alternative choices for political actions. In most instances these research findings do not demonstrate the real and long-term value of Black Americans to the growth and development of the nation as a whole. Without this stance as a real possibility there is little chance that the political alternative chosen will further significant involvement of blacks in crucial social functions for their own advancement and the advancement of the general welfare.

instances, different researchers from different ethnic and experience backgrounds would conduct the same research and development activity within their reference group as well as across other reference groups. Specifically, this would entail the commission of more black researchers to conduct research in various areas as well as to do research on this research itself. Black researchers should also be supported in their efforts to conduct research on white subjects. This, however, should *not* lead to the idea that only blacks can do black studies, or Poles study Poles, Jews study Jews, etc., rather that important social policy related studies should be attacked from diverse angles.

3. *Research* and *Development vs. Research* on *Development*

Research and development imply (1) that there is some evidence about the nature of a problem and (2) that there are known ways one might organize and allocate resources to deal with problems. In the first instance, this is the basis for much of our research activity and in the second instance, it serves as the foundation for many of our present developmental activities. This approach to R and D requires the involvement of "proven" scholars and administrators because they are most likely to have the know-how in these two areas of human activity. Therefore, the bulk of resources of R and D will go to these individuals or groups exclusively. Since this is the case, few, if any, blacks could qualify for R and D funds.

If more blacks are to be included in these kinds of activities, consideration must be directed toward research *on* development. Many of the experiences blacks are having in present-day society are new and have no historical counterpart, and therefore, it is necessary to devote some attention toward researching the developmental process affecting the present and future status of blacks. Research *on* development allows the inclusion of blacks as researchers because they are likely to have the edge in thinking about issues related to the status of blacks on the changing American scene. This edge is associated in part with the fact that operational values in many different black communities are entirely alien to white America. Since knowledge of these values is essential to understanding how blacks perceive their own reality, black researchers who have the necessary background must be sought out and supported to complete research on developmental trends affecting the black community.

4. *Policy Formation, Problem Identification, Program Design, Administrative Structure, Output and the Evaluation of Process and Product of Institutional Output*

There is a functional interactive relationship affecting policy formation, problem identification, program design, administrative structure, and output that influences any evaluation of process and product associated

with institutional activity. The nature of the policy that is formulated determines the setting and priority for identifying problems to be solved. The program design devised and selected for solving the problem identified is influenced both by the nature of the policy and by the problem description. In devising an administrative structure, the program design becomes crucial in deciding the roles and the shape of these roles to be employed in the structure. It should be noted that people selected to function in the administrative structure are often more closely tied to the nature of the policy and problem than to the program regarding the output of the institution in question. Output can be consistent with policy while not providing solutions to problems identified. It is also possible to judge a program's output as being adequate although the relationship to the policy formulated and the problem identified are questionable at best.

The points above represent only a few of the many permutations possible when one considers the interrelationships affecting the output of policy formation, problem identification, program design and administrative structure. However, one should be able to surmise the complexity of the situation from the brief statements and to ponder some of the problems associated with attempts to evaluate processes and products resulting from such an experience. Too little attention has been focused on the interrelationships of significant factors which precede the evaluation of process and products. Without careful consideration of antecedent conditions, evaluation of processes and products has little real meaning to those who are affected directly by the resulting data.

Up to this point the policy formation, problem identification, program design and administrative structure at NIE has not included blacks in any significant way. In this sense much of the present and future direction of NIE is set without having included the problems and concerns of members of the black community in terms of their perceptions and value orientation. Given this situation it is doubtful that the focus of NIE can be redirected to take into account R and D problems considered to be critical to the best interests of members of the black community. If this situation is to be corrected, or at least improved, more blacks will have to be involved in the formation of policy, identification of problems, design of programs, and administrative structure at every level in NIE within the very near future. This step should raise the level of the evaluation of the process and product of NIE as a viable agency in the eyes of members of the black community.

5. *Appropriateness of Research Problems for Black Researchers*

Should black researchers be limited to the study of problems associated with blacks? If so, then they are limited both in the opportunity to obtain financial support and in their ability to discuss related problems

of other groups. To limit black researchers to the study of blacks is to limit them to the study of part of the problem. In some sense, one can only understand the black problem by having first-hand information on the nature of the white problem or better still, by knowing how society affects the life conditions of different individuals in different ways. For this and other reasons, black researchers should not be limited to the study of black problems.

Another issue is related to the percentage of resources devoted to problems other than those of blacks. Since there is no reason to believe that the bulk of resources will be designated for R and D problems in the many areas specifically related to the black problem, black researchers who are restricted to research on blacks would not have access to most of the available resources and problem areas to be studied. It is absolutely necessary that black researchers maintain intellectual flexibility in their choice of appropriate research topics. This is a necessary condition if basic changes across the total spectrum of American society are to be forthcoming partly as a result of relevant findings by black researchers. This situation will only come to pass as black researchers maintain their right to choose problems for study more broadly.

6. *Legitimization of Research and Development in Black Communities*

The question of who gives legitimacy and how legitimacy is obtained for justifying research and development activities in the black communities is of much concern to members of these communities. There is a strong feeling, with adequate justification, that black community residents have been exploited by researchers for their own gain and that the community gains have been primarily negative or nonexistent. Therefore, the legitimization of research in black communities must be determined by those who are most affected by the results.

Part of the problem of legitimizing research in black communities deals with difficulties associated with the identification of researchable problems in a heterogeneous urban area where blacks are presently residing in increasingly large numbers. What are the boundaries and limitations of research done in this type of environment? What criteria should be employed to determine the worth of such research efforts? What should be the process whereby research problems are identified and defined? These questions should be answered in relation to black perspectives on diverse problems found in a variety of educational settings.

Past and current research on black students has tended to type them negatively in relation to students in other groups. This kind of negative typing encourages negative reactions on the part of professional staff, peers in other groups, and members of the larger community. R and D which produce results that can be translated into negative "typing" should not be

encouraged, supported or publicized in the black community or among black students wherever they might be found. At the present time, research literature is cluttered with a great deal of racism when focused on the educational and intellectual characteristics of black students. This situation will be greatly improved as R and D efforts in black communities have gained legitimacy from blacks prior to proceeding with the activity.

7. *Structure for Continued and Significant Black Input in the NIE R and D Effort*

There is a need for the creation and continuation of a group of blacks interested in the programs and progress of NIE. What should be the nature of the structure and organization of such a group? What will be their concerns? What kinds of support will be required? Is NIE willing to support an ongoing group of black professionals who will advise on research and development activities in black communities? Even though the above questions need some answers before this problem area can be operationally defined, it is an important area to consider if NIE's R and D efforts are to serve the black community more effectively. A task force of black professionals and lay people could serve this purpose.

Research and Development Problems in Black Communities

1. *The Impact of Integration on the Black Community and Schooling in the South and Other Areas*

The impact of integration on the black community has been varied but indisputable across the United States. In the minds of an increasing number of blacks the results of integration have meant a net loss for the black community as a whole. These results can only be viewed and studied in the context of their occurrence because their effects are differentiated across settings in different time frames. Since this is the case, the subproblem associated with the general problem area (impact of integration) will be discussed below.

a. Pluralism and Assimilation in Institutional Settings

There seem to be two distinct and contrasting trends associated with how blacks should be included in institutional activity. One approach suggests that there is a multiplicity of ultimate subgroups in America, each with its own set of values and ways of experiencing the environment. The differences presented by these subgroups strengthen society because of the inherent vitality resulting from interactions within common cultural and social groupings. According to this view, institutional activity would procede along subgroup or pluralistic lines and contact among these groups is for mutual benefit and personal self interest. This arrangement allows subgroups to pursue their own goals and desires

without interference. Basically, this is the *freedom from* view of democratic practice. Also, this position seeks to preserve group identity.

Another view of the situation suggests that subgroups should be assimilated in common institutional activities focused on human problems and concerns affecting all. Emphasis here is placed on points of agreement and participation in institutional activity on an equal basis. The vitality of this pattern results from its focus on the general welfare of all for the ultimate good of all. Basically, this is the *freedom for* view of democratic practice. Group identity here is more nationalistic in its orientation.

Blacks in America are caught between these two views of how people should participate* in institutional activity. There is a strong push to preserve group identity but not at the expense of being able to participate on an equal footing in all institutional activity. This state of affairs tends to break the black community into three distinct groups—those who advocate pluralism (group identity), those who advocate assimilation (group welfare), and those who vacillate between the two positions.

It is the opinion of this group that it is crucial that more information be available to discern ways that blacks can maintain a degree of control over their own communities and yet participate in general institutional

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* One of my colleagues took issue with my characterization of pluralism and assimilation as factors in the institutional activity of black participants. According to his view "it is possible and desirable to assert that a person can participate in society without being assimilated into the society *or* as a member of one of the various subgroups which compromise the plurality, i.e. one can (and perhaps should) be considered an individual and respected for his individuality. Only in such a construct can blacks (or any other ethnics) claim the right both to control their own ethnic destiny and also to participate in general institutional activity." Even though this analysis is an interesting one, I do not think this fits the situation as it applies to blacks. In America, operationally, black people are not considered on an individual basis to be included as a result of individual talent and personal preference. This is, in part, related to the fact that being included in critical ways in a formal organizational structure is largely dependent on informal associations outside the formal task or role under consideration. Because blacks rarely have the opportunity to develop significant informal relationships with whites who control decision-making in critical institutional structures, they are not taken in as individuals to be trusted and entrusted with responsibilities that influence the direction and intent of the institutions in question. As long as this remains the significant experience of a great number of blacks, participation in institutional activity in terms of an individual's preference seems to be an unrealistic expectation. If blacks continue to be considered in terms of their group membership, individual action or preference is not likely to be enough to insure a meaningful degree of control over institutional activity that is significant in the lives of all people.

activity according to their own needs, desires and societal requirements. This is a problem area requiring research and development activity in the black community.

b. Communication Patterns of Blacks at the National, State, and Local Levels

Evidence suggests that there has been a distinct change in the communication patterns of blacks at the national, state and local levels. This change is due, in part, to changes in the legal status of blacks. Prior to the Civil Rights Legislation of 1964, for example, at the local levels blacks were likely to attend the same schools, churches and social affairs. On a state-wide basis, in southern states, particularly where blacks were principals of schools, it was possible to reach every secondary administrator, teacher or student by writing fewer than one hundred letters and literally thousands of elementary school administrators, teachers and pupils by writing fewer than five hundred letters. This type of communication pattern is no longer possible at the state level because segregated schools have been eliminated and most of the black principals have lost their jobs. With this loss, blacks lost a valuable state-wide communication network. At the national level, communication among blacks was facilitated by the fact that they belonged to black organizations, professional groups and college alumni groups. As more blacks entered predominantly white institutions being members of common social and professional groups with other blacks became more unlikely and difficult, resulting in reduced communication at the national level. These are just a few of the changes in communication patterns affecting blacks in America.

As blacks are legally integrated into American society there seems to be a detrimental effect on the communication patterns that were part of the social interaction of segregation. For many blacks this is a loss because exchanges between individuals with common concerns and problems are now more difficult, if not impossible. Until blacks gain effective control of parts of mass media or become equal partners in American society, communication patterns of blacks at different demographic distribution levels become a crucial concern for study. Some research and development support should be directed toward the nature of communication patterns that prevail among blacks in different settings. Without a better indication of the problems blacks face in communicating with each other and with the majority, it is unlikely that beneficial research and development findings can be adequately disseminated to members of the black community.

c. Leadership and Apprenticeship Opportunities in Schools and Other Institutional Settings

Prior to legal integration, there were many leadership and

apprenticeship opportunities for blacks in institutional settings because the associated institutions were organized and utilized by and for members of the black community. For example, in North Carolina prior to 1964, there were at least two-hundred twenty-four black secondary schools with athletic teams, student government associations, social organizations, music and drama units, and other academically oriented groups which required leaders and apprentices to carry out activities assigned to the group. The positions were filled with black students who were able to gain valuable experience that had direct application in adult life. Now that legal integration has occurred, there are fewer institutions controlled by blacks and therefore, fewer black institutional settings are available to provide the large number of leadership and apprenticeship opportunities necessary to serve the needs of black youth.

Too many black students feel that they have lost valuable opportunities to participate fully in the life of the school since the advent of integration. This makes it difficult if not impossible for black students to be able to practice *leadership* and *followship* skills critical to success as adults in our society. The opportunity for informal learning resulting from constructive institutional activity for black students has decreased with integration.

A related point would suggest that the school can no longer be a focal point for community development in black areas because blacks no longer have the access to this institution. Black cultural concerns and perspectives get set aside or lost when integration of schools occurs because the black community loses control over an institution that had formerly exerted great control over the life and development of the community. As integration progresses in schools there seems to be a decrease in black adults assuming leadership roles in the community. Black youth are thus cheated out of the opportunity to have black models that are positive, relevant, and friendly. These trends seem to suggest that the impact of integration on schools has created many different kinds of problems for black students and their respective communities. While all these problem areas may not fall within the purview of NIE, they do interact to affect the type and quality of educational experience black youth can receive.

Some R and D funds should be focused on the study of leadership and apprenticeship opportunities in schools and other meaningful institutional settings for black youth. Studies in this area could focus on the net effect of having and not having these opportunities available, the educational value of such opportunities, the number of black youth who might profit from these opportunities, the number of opportunities available to black youth in and out of school related activities, and ways to create more of these kinds of opportunities in schools and other educational settings.

2. *Schools as Socializing Environmental Settings*

Schools are socializing agencies in our society. They reflect the social conditions in society and give individuals who use them experience in practicing and mastering academic and social skills required in meeting the challenges of survival and success. As significant numbers of black and white students are integrated in the schools for the first time, the environmental setting characterizing their existence is likely to change to reflect the alteration of social relations suggested by different participant populations. As the environmental setting of schools change, their role as socializing agencies will be altered also.

There is evidence that the environmental setting of schools after integration has not been supportive of the black student and his special needs. In most instances where integrarion is maintained, black students are a permanent minority and are excluded from the intricate peer social structure. This situation is often aided and abetted by school officials who are white. Opportunities for black student involvement in most integrated schools are fewer than they were when schools were segregated. Much evidence suggests that the environmental setting of most schools is having a negative socializing effect on black students and the phenomenon should be given more systematic and careful study.

At present the school as a socializing agent projects too many negative instances for black students to be able to relate positively to the institutional experience. Some attention should be devoted to how schools can have more positive socialization effect on black students. In an atmosphere where black students are being indicted by white students as a result of fights or other minor conflicts and many of the more vocal and intelligent black students are being expelled in large numbers, a closer look at the socializing effects of schools on black students should become a focal point of concern in the R and D efforts of NIE.

Schools as institutional settings dictate the nature and type of human interactions that are possible. Schools as institutions are supposed to be geared to the rational and systematic solution of human problems even though in the performance of this function, little formal attention is devoted to the way in which the setting created by institutional operation negatively affects the human interactions experienced by those who serve and are served. Being in a school does not imply that the black student is part of the institution. The very nature of the human interaction experienced by an individual determines whether or not he feels part of a school in an institutional setting.

As more blacks are being thrust into new and different school settings, they feel a sense of *community* or *estrangement* based on the type of human interactions they experience. Unfortunately, the worth of school is likely

to be based on the actual or perceived human interaction that participants experience. It is important to note the nature and type of human interactions that black students are currently experiencing in too many school settings. The nature and effects of the quality of human interactions black students experience in schools should be come one of the focal points of R and D efforts.

3. *Personality Development of Black Youth in Schools and Other Educational Settings During a Period of Transition*

When the cultural patterns of subgroups are encased by clear boundaries (stated or unstated), the socialization of youth under these conditions is predictable after taking into account alterations suggested by the peer subcultures. During periods of transition there is uncertainty regarding the cultural base that should guide socialization and subsequent personality development. The problem is highlighted by noting real examples made visible by sharp increases in the integration of blacks into predominantly white social groups. Because predominantly white social groups practice subcultural patterns different from those practiced by most blacks, there will be value conflicts regarding the appropriateness of socialization experiences that should be common for black youth so involved. Questions involving a black perspective vs. the perspective of the new (white) reference group abound when blacks are forced to come to terms with integrated living and the personality development of their children.

Some argue that black youth cannot survive in a white world while dealing with their blackness from a black perspective. By its very definition a black perspective can best be obtained by being socialized in black institutional and social settings. How is this to be done when one spends most of this critical time (work, social obligations, residence, political activity, etc.) in the company of whites? On the other hand, there are those who argue that this society is fast becoming an integrated one and that black youth must be socialized to deal with the new order by growing up in it. From this point of view, the development of a "black perspective" insures continued conflict with the "white perspective" that the integration is supposed to eliminate. It could be further argued that black youth should be prepared for rejection by whites as their interests begin to compete with the interests of white youth. No matter which of these two lines of thought is accepted, the personality development of black youth is very likely to be greatly influenced by these two views of what the socialization experience for black youth should be.

It is evident that there are transition problems for black and white youth and their respective communities resulting from school integration. Black students feel betrayed, left out, unsupported in their views, and totally frustrated in their efforts to use the school as a training

ground for successful life activity. Black students feel that there are few people in positions of power that are sympathetic to their problems. Many black students feel that more was lost than gained when schools were integrated. Even though we know little about the feelings of white students in this situation, evidence suggests that the beliefs held by white students increase conflicts when they come into contact with black students. In too many instances this situation places too much psychic and emotional pressure on black students and ultimately affects their school performance.

Personality development of black youth during periods of social transition is an important consideration for NIE in its R and D efforts. This focus should be made early in the game because of the dynamic qualities of the changes suggested by social transition. If professionals have not adequately trained their efforts upon the effects of social transition periods on the personality development of black youth, it is possible that the opportunity to learn how to help those who came before and will come after to deal with problems will go unnoticed. This area definitely needs more systematic study.

4. *Assessment and Identification of Talented Black Students*

Assessment procedures currently employed in schools do not adequately identify talented black students or give much information on the nature of learning problems when the results are less than expected. Tests presently employed are not likely to aid professionals in their efforts to improve learning among black students. Some R and D effort should be devoted to finding new and more effective ways to assess and identify the talent of black students.

5. *The Rights of Black Students in School Settings*

Black youngsters and adolescents should be informed about their rights in schools and in their relationship with professional staff. The information can guard the student against verbal abuse and general mistreatment at the hands of professional staff. This is a necessary condition if black students are to protect their self image and personal integrity in school settings common in most communities presently. Some R and D should be devoted to helping black students and professional staff to become more aware of the rights of students. A systematic study of how this process might take place in a school setting might be instrumental in establishing a better working relationship between black students and professionals. It is hoped that a better quality educational experience might result from the improved relationship.

6. Current Research and Development Efforts Focused on the Black Community

There is a real need to document the nature and extent of R and D efforts presently supported by government agencies in black communities. Some research activity should be focused on those who influence policy through their research. It would be helpful to have information on the personal characteristics of researchers to determine to what extent their discussions are affected by personal distress. The value orientation of social science researchers should be taken into account when their findings are applied to problems associated with the education of black students. Biographical and professional background information on the researchers who conducted and are presently conducting R and D in black communities should be collected and made available to interested groups. Future R and D awards should require this type of information on each researcher.

In terms of public information there should be an attempt to provide answers to some of the questions that follow. How are the efforts in the black community used to alter practice and guide policy and program formation, development, and delivery? How do you obtain and communicate valid information about NIE and other agencies for public consumption? How can information on the formative evaluation of government agencies be obtained so that the public can be alerted to the type of treatment people receive in relation to R and D? Also, information should be available concerning the needs of people in terms of what is available through government agencies. This could also include more developmental focus on the tie between research and programatic areas which is crucial to the implementation of findings. Since the public is not too well informed about the operation of agencies in the R and D areas, it is critical to make more information readily available for public review.

7. Location and Development of Black Researchers

More black scholars must be located and supported so that they can spend more time doing R and D on the educational problems and concerns of blacks. There should also be support for black scholars and researchers to check the validity of interpretations of research studies depicting members of the black community in terms of pathologies and deviancies from white norms. In the main, however, much more research and development should be supported for blacks to conduct more research on blacks. As a related concern NIE should assume the responsibility for nurturing and developing specific kinds of researchers. This is necessary because the production of black scholars by top institutions is too low to insure any real impact on the problems for quite some time. Since there is

a real shortage of practicing black professionals across most discipline areas and especially so in areas requiring quantitative skills, NIE will have to assume some responsibility for training more people.* Before there can be enough qualified representatives across research areas, more development work for increasing the production of black scholars must be completed. Programs and needs in this area should be determined after a complete survey of the situation.

Summary and Conclusions

One might be prompted to question the correctness of this report's focus in terms of the charge "to provide an outline of the kinds of educational concerns and problems affecting blacks in America which NIE might use as a basis for formulating its Research and Development efforts" because it is not directed toward traditional problems characterizing the operation of schools, curricula programs, specific instructional learning difficulties, the effectiveness of materials, testing and evaluation approaches, the nature and characteristics of student populations, performance and achievement patterns, the training of teachers, providing financial support for schools, or the behavior problems of students. Even though these are the traditional areas on which educational research and development efforts have focused, they were not of prime concern to the majority of participants attending the conference. At some point in our deliberations all of the educational areas listed above were discussed by at least one of the participants but primarily as illustrative examples to support their real concerns. This, in part, explains why this report is focused away from more specific and traditional problems associated with schooling and more toward broader educational concerns and problems.

The participants generally felt that the educational Research and Development efforts of NIE in the black community are more properly focused on areas such as dealing with significant involvement and participation in the formation of policy, design of programs, selection of researchers, identification of relevant problems, selection of methodologies

* One of my professional colleagues at a major university provided some meaningful insight when she suggested the training of black researchers is a complex problem requiring serious study. Her specific comments were, "I do not have any figures on this but I suspect that black students enrolled in the prominent social science departments throughout the country are primarily in the more applied areas preparing for careers as practitioners rather than as researchers. Speaking from personal experience I can say that of the more than 20 black doctoral students with whom I have been in close contact, only one has ever expressed any serious interest in doing research following completion of the degree." This observation should receive more systematic attention to find out the extent to which this situation is pervasive across all fields of study.

employed to conduct research, administration and approval of research projects, and legitimizing R and D efforts in black communities. Other problems and concerns rated high by participants were directed toward the control and governance of schools, the administration of schools for fostering community development, the impact of integration on schooling and the black community, the location and training of black researchers, the transition problems facing black students in schools, the communication patterns influencing the development of the black community, the creation of internship and apprenticeship opportunities for black youth, the socialization effects of schooling on black youth, and the appropriateness of research problems for black researchers.

It is obvious that many of the educational problems and concerns identified by the participants deal primarily with questions of value orientation and perspective. Participant concerns also highlighted value dilemmas created when R and D is considered from the point of view of the *researcher* rather than the *researched*. The overwhelming view suggests that R and D efforts by NIE in black communities must be conducted in accord with a plan that guarantees accountability and gain to those researched. With this notion providing the general approach to educational R and D on blacks, it was felt that specific problem areas for analytical study could be identified and defined at a later date when there is ample time and expertise to complete the task properly. In this sense, the ideas presented in this report represent a starting point - a set of guidelines or principles - for the identification of specific educational problems that can be subjected to specific R and D efforts.

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